



WHAT IF? WHAT NEXT?

SPECULATIONS ON HISTORY'S FUTURES

SESSION 2B

ROUTES TO THE PAST

**Authentic? History, Heritage and Matters of
Veracity and Experience**

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CONTRADICTION AND SYNTHESIS IN ITALIAN FASCIST ARCHITECTURE

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Inaugurated in 1934 and completed in only 253 days, the new city of Sabaudia in Italy was designed as one of five “agricultural centres” within the planned urban and social system of the vast reclamation project of the Pontine Marshes. The city was an outcome of key policies and propaganda of the Fascist Italian government regarding the re-ruralisation of Italian society and production, expressed in slogans such as “the battle for wheat” and the “war against hunger.” Through spectacles such as the 1934 “18BL Theatre for the masses, by the masses” the foundation of Sabaudia was associated with the Fascist themes of work, dedication to and sacrifice for the state, and the eulogisation of Italian tradition and identity.

The city was designed by a group of young Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) adherents and former Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale (MIAR) colleagues in a “rigorously rational” style, which was deliberately aligned with Fascist political imperatives including the concepts of corporativismo and Romanità. Today, the built fabric of Sabaudia in its unadorned rationalist style is remarkably well-preserved, complete with the Fascist symbols and inscriptions that are visible throughout the city. Notwithstanding the political circumstances in which it was conceived, in the 1960s Sabaudia attracted notable anti-Fascist intellectuals such as Pier Paolo Pasolini.

Pasolini has suggested that although Sabaudia was created by the Fascist regime, through the passing of time, it is the reality of provincial, rustic, pre-industrial Italy that produced Sabaudia, not Fascism. This paper sets Sabaudia within its founding philosophical, political and architectural contexts as well as posing considerations about the legacy and lived experience of the city over time, re-evaluated in terms of the early Italian rationalist theme of cross-disciplinary exchange in the “new spirit” of modernism.

This paper analyses the city of Sabaudia in Italy with reference to its founding philosophical, political and architectural context(s). It will be argued that the city simultaneously belongs to historical tradition and to the modernist avant-garde, a paradox that derives from Italian Fascist ideology. The case that Sabaudia is an “ideal Fascist city”¹ will be contrasted with the legacy and lived experience of the city over time, such as Pier Paolo Pasolini’s 1972 statement that “Sabaudia was created by the regime, there is no doubt, however ... it is the reality of provincial, rustic, pre-industrial Italy that produced Sabaudia, not Fascism.”² This will be re-evaluated in terms of the early Italian rationalist theme of cross-disciplinary exchange in the “new spirit” of modernism.



Figure 1. Riserva Statale Piscina delle Bagnature Sabaudia, Italy, 2018. Photograph by Justin Mallia.

Inaugurated in April 1934, Sabaudia was constructed in 253 days. It is located in the Pontine Marshes, which was previously flooded in winter, infested with malaria-carrying mosquitos in summer, and had only ever been intermittently occupied by poor working families.³ Roman Emperor Augustus was legendarily acclaimed for the drainage of a small portion of the marshes and their conversion into seemingly miraculously productive agricultural land. However, all subsequent reclamation attempts had failed.⁴ Along with the opportunity for Benito Mussolini to promote himself as a latter-day Augustus, from 1932 onwards, reclamation of the “death inducing”⁵ Pontine Marshes became a focus as part of Italian Fascist government policies for the re-ruralization of Italian society and production, including “the battle for wheat”⁶ and the “war against hunger.”⁷ Peasant war veterans were forcibly relocated from other parts of Italy to undertake the manual reclamation labour, while encouraged by declarations from Mussolini that “By remaining rural you will always remain closer to my heart,”⁸ and propaganda posters announcing that “In a few years the land of buffalo and malaria will become a vast area of farmland which - you fighters - will work and own”.⁹ Accordingly, after the successful draining of the swamp, workers were settled in 4,000 individual land holdings. Each holding consisted of a farmhouse and was located within a planned network of roads, small support towns and five major town centres, accompanied by a political hierarchy of Fascist social and agricultural support services, forming part of the Fascist concept of *corporativismo*.

Corporativismo was an economic and political system part of which required all sectors of the economy – industry, agriculture, commerce and the professions, to be organized into corporations or guilds under the control of the state.¹⁰ The concept of guilds has a long history in Italy including in the fifteenth century in Florence, and their use to enable state control of individual professions was not unique to the Italian Fascist government. In the Soviet Union the Central Committee decree of April 23, 1932, disbanded all artistic groups and declared that all Soviet “creative workers” would be organised according to profession in unitary “creative unions.” Under the Stalinist phase of Soviet culture this decree intentionally ended the Russian avant-garde.¹¹ While

the Fascist regime in Italy explicitly sought to utilise architecture for political means and all architecture was forced to actively support those objectives, unlike other totalitarian regimes, *corporativismo* did not manifest itself through a state-suppressed or, for that matter, a state-sanctioned style, expression or theory.

In this context, in 1933 a design competition was staged by the government for the design of Sabaudia as one of the five major “rural centres,” and was won by former *Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale* (MIAR) colleagues Luigi Piccinato, Gino Cancellotti, Eugenio Montuori and Alfredo Scalpelli. The city, designed in its entirety with all buildings in the Rationalist style of simple, rectilinear, severe and unadorned forms, remains largely intact.



Figure 2. Luigi Piccinato, Gino Cancellotti, Eugenio Montuori, Alfredo Scalpelli. Sabaudia. Source: Luigi Piccinato, “Il significato urbanistico di Sabaudia,” *Urbanistica 1* (1934). 16.

The Italian Rationalist architects adhered to principles of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) rigorously participating in the advancement of modernist ideals while also necessarily complying with obligatory Fascist objectives. Compatible connections were able to be drawn between *corporativismo* and CIAM objectives of functionalism in urban design. The rationalists aligned the Fascist rhetorical promotion of virility, athleticism, martial prowess and fertility with CIAM principles concerned with the ability of architecture and urban planning to promote the physical and mental health of the populace. Unlike other CIAM members though, the Italians were also bound by the Fascist regime’s rejection of an International style in favour of the concept of *Romanità*, which insisted on a representation in architecture of a putative Italian “essence”.¹² The Rationalists successfully integrated these potentially inconsistent concepts, producing innovative architecture that reinterpreted rather than detached itself from its Italian traditions. While Rationalist architecture was actively exhibited by the CIAM,¹³ it was also personally defended by Mussolini against criticisms:

It is absurd not to want a rational and functional architecture for our times. Each epoch has produced its own architecture ... some have criticised Sabaudia, but I tell you ... that Sabaudia is fine for me and I think it is beautiful. This is what a city of the twelfth year of the Fascist Era should look like and it should not be done differently.¹⁴

In his 1934 description of the significance of Sabaudia, Piccinato advocates for the supremacy of Fascist approaches to the establishment of new rural centres like Sabaudia, but he also demonstrates his awareness of the latest international experiments in urban design including English garden cities, Russian industrial towns, the Spanish linear city, and Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre.¹⁵ Sabaudia features on the front cover of the September 1935 issue of the journal of the National Fascist Syndicate of Architects, *Architettura*, and on a visit to Sabaudia together, the editor Marcello Piacentini gave Mussolini a copy along with a covering letter in which he sets the city within the context of international modernism:

I have seen the few recent small towns (especially Dutch and German) built abroad completely ex novo after the War: none can be compared to Sabaudia. They are too arid, too uselessly scientific.

Sabaudia is alive, warm and plastic even though it remains rigorously rational. Mussolinian architecture is now in full formation.¹⁶



Figure 3. Sabaudia, Italy, 2018. Photograph by Justin Mallia.

The principle features of the urban layout of Sabaudia are two long, straight access roads that lead on intersecting axes directly to the city centre dominated by a civic tower visible for kilometres in all directions. An arrangement of principal and secondary piazzas, colonnades, and civic buildings are positioned in a dynamic ensemble of asymmetries. The civic buildings are set in careful relation to the main tower and one another, establishing hierarchies of space and multiple vistas to features both within the city and the surrounding natural setting. While Sabaudia is “rigorously rational,” Terry Kirk has identified resemblances in its layout to ancient Roman military settlements,¹⁷ and D. Medina Lasansky has noted similarities to medieval and Renaissance civic building typologies and urban planning principles.¹⁸

The coexistence of rational, utilitarian, technological modernism with the classical, traditional and vernacular, aligns with a speech by Mussolini titled “Arte e civiltà” delivered at the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia on October 5, 1926, where he stated:

Without art there is no civilization. I believe that art marks the dawn of every civilization... Now on such a prepared ground a great art can be reborn that can be traditional and at the same time modern. We must create, otherwise we will be the exploiters of an old patrimony; we must create a new art of our times, a fascist art.¹⁹

In accordance with Mussolini's call for a new and modern art that clearly acknowledges the past, the *Gruppo 7* manifesto “*Architettura*,” was first published in December 1926 in the journal *Rassegna Italiana*. The *Gruppo 7* were the initiators of rationalism in Italy.²⁰ Their exhibition at the 3rd Biennale in Monza and the *Weissenhofsiedlung* exhibition in Stuttgart both in 1927 lead to participation in the *Esposizione dell'Architettura Razionale* in 1928 and the establishment of

the MIAR by Adalberto Libera. The *Gruppo 7* manifesto aligned directly with attempts to forge Fascism out of a paradoxical combination of social change and modernization, with a nationalistic vision of Italy as an orderly society based on traditional cultural values. The *Gruppo 7* likened themselves to the artists at the start of the fifteenth century, at the beginning of a new period. They expressed the desire for an architecture that resides in the space between “the new spirit” and “the spirit of tradition”.

The “new spirit” was a direct reference to Le Corbusier’s “spirit nouveau” from *Vers une architecture*. The *Gruppo 7* viewed the existence of the new spirit as an interchanging of influences between architects and artists of diverse disciplines. They identified Le Corbusier as one of the notable initiators of Rationalist Architecture engaging in exchange with Jean Cocteau, Pablo Picasso and Igor Stravinsky. They describe Le Corbusier as dealing with architecture through an ideal of rigid logic in the style of Cocteau, while conversely claiming that Cocteau constructs his writings in accordance with a simple and concise Corbusian architectonic scheme. In contrast to the uniformity of International-style modernism, *Gruppo 7* identified a unique character to the new spirit in different countries, but noted they are all born of the same foundation. In the case of Italy, *Gruppo 7* identified a potential correspondence between architecture and various new forms of art, specifically recognising Massimo Bontempelli, Mario Sironi and the paintings of Giorgio de Chirico.

Although the rationalists managed to achieve a congruence in architecture between the potentially incompatible influences and recognition of the past, with new expression and ambitions for the future, paradox is fundamental to the ideology of Italian Fascism. Ideological ambiguity in Fascism can be traced to the approach of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Italian philosophers, such as Benedetto Croce, but in particular Giovanni Gentile’s subjective formalization of Hegelianism.²¹ Gentile was the key philosopher of Italian Fascism and in Bologna on March 29 and 30, 1925 organised the *Convegno per la cultura Fascista* and the resulting *Il Manifesto degli intellettuali Fascisti* which was published widely in all Italian newspapers and magazines on April 21, 1925 – the anniversary of the date celebrated as the birth of Rome. Contrary to Soviet socialism, which was underpinned by the comprehensive Marxist doctrine of dialectical and historical materialism, and eventually developed into the Stalinist rejection of the avant-garde as “metaphysical” and “idealist”,²² Italian Fascism was instead actively idealist, but based on an ideology that was unstable, pluralistic, and ambiguous, consisting of recurring tensions between conflicting themes.²³

"The Philosophic Basis of Fascism" written by Gentile in 1927 begins with Italy’s involvement in the first world war, identifying the duality of two opposing positions within the Italian populace as “neutralists” and “interventionists” which Gentile describes through the paradoxes of material advantages and moral advantages, the tangible and intangible, ponderable and imponderable, palpable and impalpable. Gentile aligns Fascism with interventionist idealism, personified in Giuseppe Mazzini during the *risorgimento*, explaining idealism as:

faith in the advent of an ideal reality, as a manner of conceiving life not as fixed within the limits of existing fact, but as incessant progress and transformation toward the level of a higher law which controls men with the very force of the idea... True life is not the life which is, but also the life which ought to be. It was a conviction essentially religious in character, essentially anti-materialistic.

Gentile claimed that the materialistic, characteristically democratic attitude of the period of liberal governance since the reunification of Italy involved an intellectualism divorced from reality which had paralyzed the vitality of the country, with the post war reality demanding that ideas become actions. Gentile redacts the Renaissance concept of thought preceding action, quoting Mazzini as stating “thought and action” and then further evolving this dynamic into the Fascist concept “whereby the two terms are so perfectly coincident that no thought has value which is not already expressed in action. The real ‘views’ of the Duce are those which he formulates and executes at one and the same time”.²⁴

In this way Gentile's philosophical approach can be interpreted as a sophistry in which every fixed position can be dialectically transformed into its opposite. As such, Fascism in Italy was able to simultaneously emphasise institutional conservatism and revolutionary activism, heroic individuality and corporate conformity, elitism and populism, the modern and the vernacular. Gentile claimed that Fascism finds a solution to the paradox of liberty and authority through the absolute authority of the State, firmly set in the notion that no freedom can be conceived except within the State. He identifies the specific example of force and consent, with the conclusion that they imply one another and cannot exist without one another, justifying that the authority of the state and the freedom of the citizen constitute a continuous circle of harmony. "In the case of Fascism, State and individual are one and the same things, or rather, they are inseparable terms of a necessary synthesis."²⁵

Jeffrey Schnapp suggests that this complex of ethical principles, credos, and aversions was held together by a rhetorical-aestheticism, whereby Fascism relied upon the ability of the arts to sustain contradiction and to make of paradox a productive principle.²⁶ While the Fascist regime used the fourteenth-century poetry of Francesco Petrarca to reinforce the idea of Italian genius to project a strong, unified nation,²⁷ Schnapp proposes that the tenet of paradox as productive principle and the occurrence in Fascism of phrases such as "conservative revolution" or "reactionary modernism" can be interpreted through analogy with Petrarca and the western lyrical tradition of the oxymoron.²⁸ Petrarca's poetry constructs the oxymoron through the literary devices of sestina and sonnet, whereas Fascism utilizes the technology, iconography and materials of the machine age. Considering the manifest inner conflicts of Fascism in terms of the Petrarchan concept of "icy fire"²⁹ offers a method of explaining the uneasy coexistence of impulses that distinguish Fascist artifacts.

Another example of this kind of uneasiness, but related to an urban context, is also evident in Pasolini's segment "*La sequenza del fiore di carta*," (The sequence of the paper flower) in the 1969 omnibus film "*Amore e rabbia*" (Love and anger.) *Amore e rabbia* involved five directors, one of which was Pasolini, each invited to make a contemporary representation of one of Jesus' parables in the canonical gospels. Describing it as mysterious, with multiple interpretations and contradictions, Pasolini chose to examine "The parable of the sterile fig tree" (Luke 13:6-9) which is linked with the oxymoronic theme of the culpability of innocence. In the film, through a layering of visual and acoustic effects over a portrayal of innocent, daily street life in via Nazionale, Rome, the method of paradox instils an ordinary contemporary urban situation with the indirect presence of Fascism and war. Pasolini's treatment of the city, memory, and the theme of culpability and innocence in this example can be related to his descriptions of the cohesion of the physical form of Sabaudia, while identifying the character of the city as simultaneously pluralistic and intangible. With regard to Sabaudia, in 1972 Pasolini stated:

now, looking at it, we experience an absolutely unexpected sensation. ... the passing of the years has meant that this architecture of Fascist character assumes a character between metaphysical and realistic ... that is, it recalls de Chirico's metaphysical painting.³⁰

In contrast to Piccinato's placement of Sabaudia within the totalitarian scope of Fascist doctrine, and his claims regarding the invention of the rural centre as a new type of Fascist city, Manfredo Tafuri has suggested that instead of being a new organisation of the various parts of a city and their relationship to the territory, Sabaudia is an organism grafted together from historical traditions of layout, building types, and compositional canons.³¹ Notwithstanding the validity of Tafuri's interpretation, the mediated plurality of Fascist objectives with modernist, technological, vernacular and classical influences, results in the experience of the city today involving a multilayered spectrality of memory cues. Conceptually similarly to the urban undercurrents of Pasolini's *La sequenze dei fiori di carta*, and reflecting the cross disciplinary intentions of the *Gruppo 7* manifesto, the constructed experience of Sabaudia, with its framed perspective views through unadorned colonnaded loggias and open piazzas evokes the paintings of de Chirico, revealing a disconcerting image of reality and distilling a vision of the everyday as disquieting and uncanny. This aspect of Sabaudia is suggestive of Federico Fellini's 1972 description of the EUR *quartiere* in Rome (originally E42) as having:

the atmosphere of artistic expression, that sense of metaphysics, which obviously, recalls the metaphysical painting of de Chirico. ... it restores in you a lightness, like living in the dimension of a painting, so there is a charge, a liberating atmosphere ... it is decadent, because it wanted to be a certain thing, ... like a kind of crazy dream interrupted and then transformed into another thing ... perhaps another reason for comfort in this neighbourhood derives from the fact that it seems futuristic but it is a future already known, therefore a future that does not distress because it is already slightly familiar from metaphysical painting.³²

In these spaces Fellini finds emptiness and improbability, but also comfort. There is a paradox and conflict between the basis of the inception of these spaces and the lived experience of them decades later.

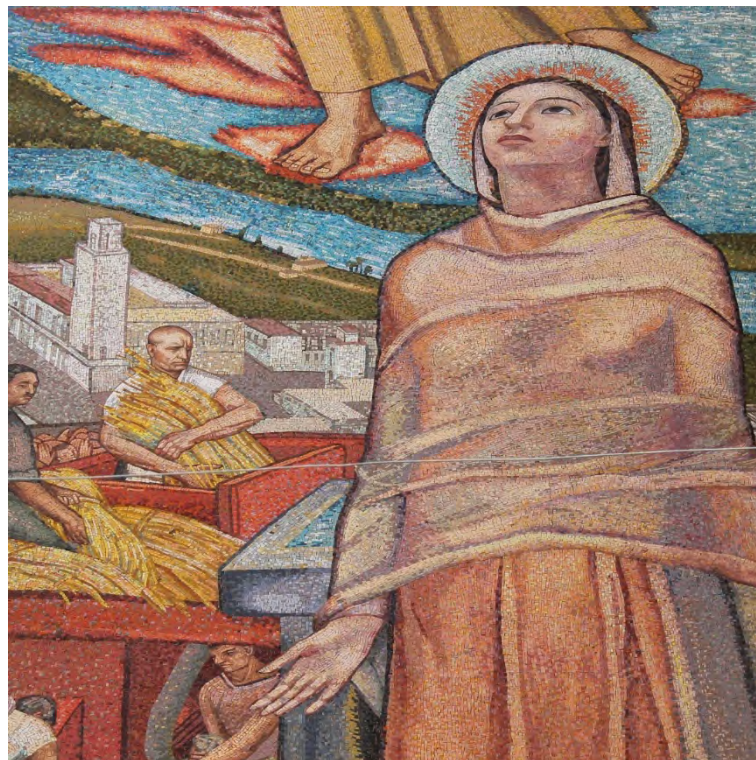


Figure 4. Mosaic of Benito Mussolini threshing wheat on the *Chiesa Santissima Annunziata* Sabaudia, Italy, 2018. Photograph by Justin Mallia.

While the vision of Sabaudia can be interpreted in conceptual architectural principles removed of classical embellishments in a manner compatible with *la scuola pittura metafisica*, on closer inspection, the reality of the built works is that throughout the city there are recurrent applied adornments that remain as testament to the Fascist foundation of the city. This includes the castings on drainage pit covers, on light posts, bench seats, and drinking fountains. More significantly, the image of Mussolini remains on the front mosaic of the church and the inscriptions on the main city tower continue to proclaim that “Benito Mussolini ... from lethargic millennia of deadly sterility and the vestiges of remote civilization, gave life to Sabaudia.”³³

Interpretations of the city divested of these applied inscriptions are further validated by the conceptual design perspective views drawn by Piccinato during the design phases of the project, which are noticeably devoid of Fascist imagery. This can be contrasted with the imagery prepared by Giuseppe Terragni to present his iconic rationalist design for the *casa del fascio* in Como, which demonstrated an image of the building photo-montaged with Fascist emblems, military personnel, and a portrait of Mussolini. The vacant appearance of Piccinato’s drawings, including

the removal of the human form, signals a connection to de Chirico as advocated by the *Gruppo 7*, but they also resemble the *Città ideale* paintings of the late fifteenth century by, for example, the school of Piero della Francesca. These interpretations reinforce Pasolini's description of Sabaudia as being the consequence of provincial, rustic, pre-industrial Italy.

Sabaudia can be described as an ideal Fascist city,³⁴ conceived by the regime, created within ideological parameters, and adorned with enduring applied emblems and symbols. The city can also be understood as a carefully considered modernist reinterpretation of the long traditions of pre-existing Italian architecture and urban design. The ability of the city to be simultaneously interpreted along quite different lines can be understood as a consequence of the concept of paradox as a productive principle. This is particularly evident in the contrast between the overt aims of the Fascist regime with regards to Sabaudia and the descriptions of the lived experience of the city by Fellini and Pasolini. Recalling the *Gruppo 7* manifesto's approach to cross-disciplinary exchange in the "new spirit" in architecture, Sabaudia evades simplistic definition and characterisation through its evocation of comparisons to the paintings of de Chirico. Together these readings of Sabaudia show how the city synthesises the complexities of relations between ideology and architecture under Italian Fascist politics.

Endnotes

¹ Federico Caprotti and Maria Kaïka, "Producing the Ideal Fascist Landscape: Nature, Materiality and the Cinematic Representation of Land Reclamation in the Pontine Marshes," *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 6 (2008): 614.

² Anna Zanolì, "Pasolini e... la forma della città" *Io e...*, directed by Paolo Brunatto, screened 7 February, 1974 (Orte and Sabaudia, Italy: Rai - Radiotelevisione Italiana Spa, 1974), Television Broadcast. My translation of "Sabaudia è stata creata dal Regime, non c'è dubbio, però ... è la realtà dell'Italia provinciale, rustica, paleoindustriale che ha prodotto Sabaudia, non il fascismo."

³ Giorgio Muratore, Daniela Carfagna, and Mario Tieghi, *Sabaudia, 1934: il sogno di una città nuova e l'architettura razionalista*, (Sabaudia, Latina: Comune di Sabaudia, 1999), 37-58.

⁴ D. Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle and Tourism in Fascist Italy*. (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2004), 198.

⁵ Caprotti and Kaïka, "Producing the Ideal Fascist Landscape," 613.

⁶ Caprotti and Kaïka, "Producing the Ideal Fascist Landscape," 654.

⁷ Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy, Volume 2, Visions of Utopia 1900 - present*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 125.

⁸ Muratore, Carfagna and Tieghi, *Sabaudia, 1934*, 25.

⁹ Muratore, Carfagna and Tieghi, *Sabaudia, 1934*, 34.

¹⁰ David Rifkind, "Everything in the State, Nothing against the State, Nothing outside the State': Corporativist Urbanism and Rationalist Architecture in Fascist Italy," *Planning Perspectives* 27, no. 1 (2012): 51-80.

¹¹ Boris Grois, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and beyond*, (London: Verso Books, 2011), 33.

¹² Philip V Cannistraro, "Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?" *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 3 (1972): 115-39.

¹³ Italian Rationalists were present at every CIAM meeting. The fourth CIAM meeting held in 1933 was focused on urban design and 5 of the 33 presented urban plans were Italian with only Germany having the same number of cities represented. Rifkind, "Everything in the State," 57-59.

¹⁴ Richard Burdett et al. eds., *Saubadia, città nuova Fascista 1933*, (London: Architectural Association, 1981), 2.

¹⁵ Luigi Piccinato, "Il significato urbanistico di Sabaudia," *Urbanistica* 1 (1934): 10-12.

¹⁶ Federico Caprotti, "Destructive Creation: Fascist Urban Planning, Architecture and New Towns in the Pontine Marshes," *Journal Of Historical Geography* 33, no. 3 (2007): 664.

¹⁷ Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy*, 127.

¹⁸ Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected*, 198-199.

- ¹⁹ Benito Mussolini, *Scritti e discorsi di Benito Mussolini Edizione Definitiva*, (Milano: U.Hoepli, 1934-1940) volume V, 427. My Translation of "Senza l'arte non vi è civiltà. Credo che l'arte segni l'aurora di ogni civiltà... Ora sopra un terreno così preparato può rinascere una grande arte che può essere tradizionalista ed al tempo stesso moderna. Bisogna creare, altrimenti saremo gli sfruttatori di un vecchio patrimonio; bisogna creare l'arte nuova dei nostri tempi, l'arte fascista."
- ²⁰ Silvia Danesi and Luciano Patetta, eds., *Il Razionalismo e l'architettura in Italia durante il Fascismo*, (Venice: Biennale di Venezia, 1976), 5.
- ²¹ Nico De Federicis, "Hegel in Italy (1922-1931): The Dispute on the Ethical State," in *Hegel's Thought in Europe*, ed. Lisa Herzog. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 223-224.
- ²² Grois, *The Total Art of Stalinism*, 49.
- ²³ Jeffrey T Schnapp, "18 BL: Fascist Mass Spectacle," *Representations* 43, no. 43 (1993), 90.
- ²⁴ Giovanni Gentile, "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism," *Foreign Affairs* 6, no 1 (1927), 300.
- ²⁵ Gentile, "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism," 302.
- ²⁶ Jeffrey T Schnapp, "Fascism's Museum in Motion," *Journal of Architectural Education* 45, no. 2 (1992): 87.
- ²⁷ Lasansky, *The Renaissance Perfected*, 11-12.
- ²⁸ Schnapp, "Fascism's Museum in Motion," 88.
- ²⁹ Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969,) 1-23.
- ³⁰ Zanolì, "Pasolini e... la forma della città." My translation of "adesso, osservandola, proviamo una sensazione assolutamente inaspettata. ... il passare degli anni ha fatto sì che questa architettura di carattere littorio assuma un carattere tra metafisico e realistico... cioè ricorda, mettiamo, la pittura metafisica di de Chirico."
- ³¹ Manfredo Tafuri, *Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia*, (Milano: Edizioni di comunità, 1964) 35.
- ³² Anna Zanolì, "Fellini e... l'eur" *Io e...*, directed by Luciano Emmer, screened 1972 (Rome, Italy: Rai - Radiotelevisione Italiana Spa, 1972), Television Broadcast. My translation of "atmosfera artistica espressa, quel senso di metafisico così, che è fin troppo ovvio, ricordare la pittura metafisica di de Chirico. ... ti restituisce questa leggerezza, sono come di abitare in una dimensione di un quadro, quindi c'è una carica, un'atmosfera liberatoria ... è un quartiere decadente tutto sommato, perché voleva essere una certa cosa, ... una specie di sogno folle interrotto e poi tramutato in un'altra cosa ... forse un altro motivo di conforto di questo quartiere deriva dal fatto che sembra futuribile ma è un futuribile già conosciuto, quindi un futuro che non angoscia perché è già scontato appunto un po' dalla pittura metafisica."
- ³³ Wall inscription on the City Tower of Sabaudia. My translation of "Benito Mussolini Capo del Governo. Questa terra volle rendenta dal millenario letargo di mortifera sterilità e presso le vestigia di remote civiltà, diede vita, a Sabaudia."
- ³⁴ Caprotti and Kaika. "Producing the ideal fascist landscape," 614.